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# THOUGHTS

ON

## EMIGRATION, EDUCATION, &c.,

### IN A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

## LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.

By "A CITIZEN."

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MONTREAL :

PRINTED BY J. C. BECKET 211½, SAINT PAUL STREET.

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MDCCCXLVII.





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## TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

MY LORD,

I have taken the liberty of addressing the following remarks to your Lordship, under the impression that they will meet your Lordship's approbation. From the general tenor of your conduct through a long public life, and your recent declaration at the hustings of the British metropolis in favour of rational reform, viz., "I am zealously attached to the institutions of the country, but I wish to see those institutions from time to time conformed to the spirit of the age, and to that advance of knowledge and of liberty, which in a free country like this, must take place." From these things I am fully convinced that there is not a nobleman in the British dominions to whom the matter in question could be more suitably addressed. Your Lordship's observations are strikingly just and in strict accordance with unadulterated reason. That the spirit of the Government and the spirit of the age should go hand in hand, is a doctrine so palpably correct, that one would suppose no sane man could utter a syllable in opposition. Yes, my Lord, the doctrine is correct, and the voice of enlightened reason is crying aloud that it must be carried out. No Government can long exist under the blighting sting of public disapprobation. No Government can long hold the reins of State when its measures are not in unison with the requirements of an enlightened and a virtuous people. In short, my Lord, the offsprings of the ignorance and barbarism of the dark ages must recede in the same proportion as education and refinement advance ; and the march of Government, and the march of mind, must be ever kept in a parallel position. I am no advocate, my Lord, for tearing up, root and branch, old and settled laws and customs, however they may be enveloped in error and in-

justice, by one of those sudden convulsions which destroy property and life and spread terror and desolation around ; but by peaceable and rational remonstrance with the powers that be, in order that the branches of those upas trees of intolerance, ignorance, and bigotry which spread their venom through the length and breadth of the land, may be gradually loped off, and the trunk and root of those sad and repulsive monuments of the ignorance and folly of mankind be swept from the surface of the earth, supplanted by the tree of knowledge, of liberty, and of happiness.

The subjects to which I would wish to call your Lordship's attention, principally, are Emigration and Education, subjects which are intimately connected with all that is calculated to exalt mankind in their moral, political, and social condition, and have a direct tendency to promote the prosperity and happiness of society at large ; and if the following remarks should be the means of drawing your Lordship's attention more deeply to the above highly interesting and important matters, so that the giant talent of the British Legislature may be brought to bear more effectually thereon, and if some new laws, regulations, and modes of Government should be adopted that will have a salutary and renovating effect upon the present and future condition of my fellow-men, then the object will be accomplished of

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and humble servant,

A CITIZEN.

# LETTER, &c.

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MY LORD,

As Emigration and Education are the all-important topics of the day, will you kindly permit me to make a few observations relative thereto;—first, then :—

I consider Emigration to be the safety valve of every densely peopled country, by which the surplus population is transferred to another soil, where immense tracts of land are in possession of the inferior animals, and in many cases where the foot of man has never trod. It is a safety valve, because it carries off the non-productive population of a country who are daily consuming the produce of the land without being able to render an equivalent for the value received. It is so, because it carries off a class of people who naturally become dissatisfied with matters as they exist, and are apt to blame the Government for the poverty and destitution that surround them. It is so, because the wheels of the national machinery become clogged, inasmuch as the unemployed portion of the inhabitants are a burthen, a dead weight upon those who are actively following their daily occupation, and as the former class increase, the latter become poorer, until they, too, lose all hope of maintaining their families in comfort and respectability, and fall by degrees into a state of despondency and despair. Losing all their spirit of manly independence and self-reliance, they sink into the gulph of abject poverty and wretchedness. But Emigration, to be an advantage and a blessing in an individual, collective, and national point of view, must be conducted upon an enlightened, liberal, and rational footing, suitable means must be adopted to bring about suitable ends, regard must be had to the future welfare and prosperity of the emigrant, as well as to the inhabitants of the country in which he is to reside, otherwise the gravest acts of injustice may be committed on both. But can we say that the Emigration of the present day is so conducted? No, my Lord, it is fraught with the most glaring acts of injustice, both to the poor deluded, suffering, trodden-down emigrant himself,

as well as to the industrious and benevolent inhabitants of this Province, and eternal infamy must rest upon the heads of the doers of such deeds, and the causers of such effects. My language may appear to be somewhat intemperate, but the reckless, unfeeling, and nefarious conduct of the parties in question is of such an excitable nature, that it is extremely difficult to keep within the sacred bounds of cool, calm, and dispassionate remark.

I have frequently visited the Sheds, impelled by strong feelings of sympathy for my keenly suffering fellow-mortals, and done my best to cheer up their drooping spirits with the hope of prosperity in this life, and of eternal happiness in the next, and in some instances have seen beams of gratitude in the eye when the tongue had ceased to speak, and never in my life, in this country or the old, have I witnessed such a melancholy mass of suffering humanity. After passing through nearly two thousand adults in the different stages of disease, you come to two or three hundred infant orphans, some only fifteen or twenty days old, and many of them taken from the side, and some from the breast of a dead mother, and I envy not the feelings of the man whose stony composition can move through such a heart-rending scene of human woe, without being touched with the deepest feelings of sympathetic love.

The question naturally arises, what can be the cause of all this human suffering? what can be done to alleviate the miseries of the present, and to prevent the like disasters in the future? With respect to the Orphans, I understand that the Catholic Bishop has, by an arrangement with the Government, taken them under his charge—that is, under the care of the Nuns, whose conduct is beyond all praise. They have shown a high standard of Christian character by their untiring and indefatigable exertions in the cause of the sick, both young and old, until about fifty have been laid on a bed of sickness by their unremitting attentions to the dying and the dead. I am glad to hear that the Bishop has taken the Orphans, because I know they will be well taken care of; but I would have much rather that my fellow-citizens had adopted a healthy child into each family, as far as they would go. Here was an opportunity which may never occur again for the citizens of Montreal to do an immense deal of good, not only to the Orphans themselves, but to society at large, for the amalgamation of these infants, who would naturally, as they grew up, imbibe the sentiments and feelings of the varied sects and parties into whose families they



would be placed, which would have a salutary effect both on this as well as on the other side of the Atlantic, not only by its influence as an example of benevolence, but in its tendency to break down those truly contemptible distinctions of country and party which too much prevail; and this act of the citizens of Montreal would have stood out in bold relief on the page of future history as one of high-minded liberality and Christian philanthropy. But what has been the cause of the state of things which to this complex has come at last? That is the question. There must be something radically wrong somewhere. There is most certainly more than one screw loose in the frame-work of society. There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark; and it is the bounden, the imperative duty of every man to dive into the labyrinths and intricacies of circumstances and events, and into the connexion between causes and effects, and to endeavour to unravel the knotty skein of human action, until the latent springs of those frightful evils are discovered, and, when once found, let every man set his shoulder to the wheel, and by firm remonstrance, and by every peaceable and rational means, endeavour to bring about a better order of things. Where, then, is the why and the wherefore of this immense amount of evil of which we are the painful spectators? Is it the work of the Almighty? No, my Lord; I believe with the right Rev. Dr. Hughes, that blasphemy hangs on that assertion. The Hon. John Neilson, in the House the other evening, said that he believed it to be a visitation of Providence on the people as a punishment for their sins. But would an All-Wise, perfect, and impartial Creator punish one portion of his people only when all were equally sinful? O no, it is not the work of God—it is the work of degenerate man—it is the work of the avaricious, the ambitious, and the proud; and Ireland, which is at present the great charnel house of humanity, has been for years the theatre of arbitrary domination. The Tithe System, that sink of abominations, which gives to some of the high clerical officials the trifling income of seventy thousand pounds per year, and enables them to keep half-a-dozen cooks, with two or three dozen other servants to wait their Lordships' pleasure,—these doings have had a great share in the cause of Ireland's troubles; and I put it to the unsophisticated reason of any man, as a plain common-sense question, whether there exists, in the whole range of the Almighty's creation, a greater discrepancy, a more

palpable and glaring inconsistency, than that of a professed follower and imitator of the humble Jesus of Nazareth receiving such a sum from the public purse.

The rapacity of the Irish landlords, is another great cause of the suffering of their countrymen. The Rev. Dr. Hughes says, "Nearly the whole of the soil is under the ownership of persons having no sympathy with the population, except the cold tie of self-interest." Thus we see that there is an almost total lack of Christian bearing and of Christian feeling from the rich to the poor, who are, by the benevolent Creator of the universe, endowed with a superabundance of wealth, not so much for the gratification of their sensual appetites and passions, as for the mental gratification of doing good, by visiting the fatherless and widow in their affliction, and by endeavouring to introduce such measures as will ameliorate the condition of the poor. I am fully of opinion with the Rev. Dr. Hughes, who says, "The State, that great civic corporation which we call the State, is bound, so long as it has the power to do so, to guard the life of its members against being sacrificed by famine from within, as much as their being slaughtered by the enemy from without." Yes, sir, the State holds the purse-strings of the nation in its hand, and the voice of reason, of humanity, benevolence, and philanthropy cry aloud, that if the rich will not voluntarily raise the condition of the poor, the State should compel them to do so. If the rich will not voluntarily form an extensive, permanent, and well organised Emigration Association, which would give a healthy tone to society by carrying off annually a reasonable number of the surplus population of the country, with a suitable provision for their future welfare and prosperity, then the State should compel them to do so. I have said a reasonable number of the superabundant population provided with the means of emigrating annually, because it has been proposed to Government, by a highly respectable and influential committee of gentlemen in Ireland, to send out at once two millions, a measure which appears to me preposterous, being altogether impracticable, and the forming a separate and distinct colony would be extremely bad policy. No, my Lord, this distinctive separation between man and man, is the very bane of society, and has inflicted nine-tenths of the evils that have cursed mankind from time immemorial. The watch-word of the Legislator, the statesman, and all who have influence over the public mind, should be "Amalgamation, Amalgamation!" particularly in a young and rising country,

for it will in a great measure do away with sectarian and national feuds, and strengthen the bonds of social union. I do not think it would bring men all to one way of thinking, but it would have the effect of bringing them to one way of feeling, inasmuch as each would be inclined to accede to his neighbour the unmolested right of worshipping his Maker according to the dictates of his conscience, respecting him as a man and a brother, as a subject of the same Government, and a child of the same universal Father.

I have said that the State holds the purse-strings of the nation, and the unanimous voice of the people should compel the State, by petitioning for certain legislative enactments, to secure what the absolute wants of society demand. The State can find abundance of money for carrying on expensive wars and the destruction of human life, and surely it ought not to be backward in finding means for saving it. The English nation have contributed towards the poor starving population of Ireland, and, at the first glance, the sum appears to be something handsome ; but, when we take into consideration the immense amount of wealth which the nation possesses, the princely fortunes of private individuals—some of them a thousand pounds and upwards per day ;—then, again, the whole army of sinecurists, with incomes annually of from one thousand to forty ; when we see those piles of wealth, comparatively wide as the broad Atlantic, and high as Egyptian Pyramids ; when we see all this, the appropriations do really appear like the dust in the balance. But, perhaps, after all, it is as much as could be expected at the spur of the moment ; but the Government ought to have exerted legislative influence years ago, to compel the Irish landlords to do their duty as men and as Christians. It is said that the Irish peasantry are an idle, inactive set ; but who has made them so ? The rich, the unfeeling land-proprietor, who has in many cases exacted his rent even to the bed from under his poor tenant, at the same time spending that money abroad which ought to have been circulated at home, and which might have given employment to his poor starving countrymen, who have contracted habits of idleness from the want of work, and their spirit of independence is broken down by the want of employment and the want of food, and at length they become totally indifferent about the past, the present, and the future. And when they are reduced by famine and disease to the brink of death, these humane landlords commit a double act of injustice by shipping them, half-



starved and half-dead, to a foreign land, where a great number suffer death themselves, and cause, by infection, the death of others. When we take all things into consideration, we must exclaim, there is, indeed, a rottenness in the state of Denmark ! and it should be the earnest business of the political economist, and the national financier, the legislator, the man of talent, and the man of wealth, the Christian, and the philanthropist ; nay, every man who possesses the common feelings of humanity, to probe to the bottom of the wound, and endeavour to extract therefrom the gangrene that lies festering in the bowels of society, and destroying the very vitals of the body politic. What would one of Ireland's poets say now could he rise from the grave and behold the deplorable condition of his country ? At the time he wrote, the poor were comparatively happy, but not so much so as to prevent him expressing his regret on account of their being less so than in former times. He says :—

“ There was a time, ere England's wrongs began,  
When every rood of ground maintained her man ;  
For him light labour spread its wholesome store—  
Just gave what life required, but gave no more.”

And what would one of England's poets say who has for years been numbered with the clods of the valley ? Instead of

“ Man's sad necessity, destructive war,  
Sweeps to the grave the surplus of her sons,”

I suppose he would have changed the word war for famine and disease ; but all that is expressed in poetry is not truth, and this is the case in the present instance. No, my Lord, it is a libel on the character of the Deity to say that God made men to butcher one another. What ! tell me that the benevolent Creator of the universe, who sent down his Son from heaven to shew men that the way to eternal happiness was to love each other, to do good to all, and to do as they would wish to be done by, and when they were reviled to revile not again, but to return good for evil ; who said, he that uses the sword shall die by the sword—he who was a living model for humanity, and strenuously urged and commanded man to practise the virtues of humility, forbearance, and love. Could a being who is the very essence of all that is pure and perfect create man for such a purpose ? Preposterous ! If this globe should exist until the immense tracts of uninhabited land in its various parts become peopled, and there is not room for another being to live, then

there might be some shew of reason in the assertion. God permits such things to take place; but it is the folly and wickedness of man that bring them into operation.

God never intended that the inhabitants of a nation should depend upon one single root of vegetation, it is the avarice and wickedness of man that have brought about such a state of things. God never intended that millions of human beings, on account of the colour of the mere surface of the body, having the same physical and mental organization, should be kidnapped, torn from their native land, put down into a ship's hold, male and female indiscriminately, like so many cattle, without room to stand erect, and crammed almost to suffocation, and then sold in a foreign land, the mother from the daughter, the husband from the wife—sold under the hammer of a rude, vulgar, and unfeeling auctioneer, whose familiarity with the brutish traffic hardens him in his crime. But this is not God's work, it is the folly, avarice, and wickedness of man that are the causes. God does not convert eight millions of quarters of wholesome grain annually, which was given for the nourishment and support of the body, into a poisonous fluid, a great part of which goes to the destruction of both body and soul, and sends its hundreds of thousands to a drunkard's grave to meet their Maker with all their crimes upon their heads. All this arises from the folly and wickedness of man. It is computed that the enormous sum of nearly one hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling is lost, and worse than lost, to great Britain every year, by the manufacture, purchase, and sale of alcoholic drinks; but, great as the loss is in a financial point of view, it is but as the drop of the bucket when compared with the destruction of the morals, the peace, comfort, security, and happiness of society. But the worst of all is, this soul-destroying poison carries its baneful influence beyond the confines of earth, to the precincts of heaven—beyond the boundary of time, to the illimitable ages of eternity. When will our rulers see the absolute necessity of taking active measures on this point? Joseph Sturge, Esq., Chairman of the National Temperance Society, at its annual meeting at Exeter Hall in May last, said that he regretted that the petition which that society presented to Parliament six months ago, had not been attended to; if it had, as much food might have been saved as would have kept the population from want till next harvest. John Rutter, Esq., stated that 8,748,000 quarters of barley were annually consumed in the manufacture of beer and spirits.

He said that it was ascertained that a man and his wife, with four children, consumed at the rate of one bushel of corn per week; so that the amount of grain annually destroyed was sufficient to sustain seven or eight millions of people for one year, a number equal to the entire population of Ireland. He said that our rulers could not be ignorant of the nature and extent of the evil of such practices, yet they refused to check it by the only rational means. What was their excuse? Why, the revenue would be endangered. Then let them charge the deficiency to the rich and to those that had property; let them no longer encourage a system by which the morals of the poor were corrupted, and then accuse them for want of education.

J. S. Buckingham, Esq., dwelt chiefly on the folly of Government in turning a deaf ear to the entreaties made to them to keep the grain of the country from being destroyed in distilleries and breweries. He said the stock of food in the country was less than in former years, and Government, instead of increasing that stock, allowed it to be destroyed by converting it into a poisonous drink, which was flooding the country with immorality. He said it was the duty of Government to watch over the welfare of the community, and he trusted, at the coming election, men would be chosen who would think it worth their while to improve the condition of the people. Yes, my Lord, Mr Buckingham is right. We want men in Parliament who have the interest of society at heart, men of sterling virtue and unbending independence, who will not be subjected to the nod of the minister of the day, nor truckle to the arbitrary and disgraceful custom of bribery and corruption. We want men who possess at least a spark of that first of virtues, public zeal. There is a wide and open field for the labours of such men, for notwithstanding much has been done by our native country for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, notwithstanding Hospitals have been erected, Magdalene Asylums, Poor-houses, Houses of Refuge for the superannuated, Orphans' and Widows' Asylums, Asylums for Juvenile delinquents, and for the Insane, Charity Schools, and Missionary Societies,—yet, after all, this is but a species of patch-work benevolence, compared with what remains to be done.

Why, my Lord, at this very moment, the peasantry of England are in a state of ignorance and pauperism. In the counties of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Lancashire, in particular, the ignorance of the peasantry is most conspicuous; and there you will find that there are



not many links in the intellectual chain between the horse that draws the plough and the man who drives it; and then every body knows that the low price to which the farmers and labouring men's wages are reduced, will not enable him to maintain a family. The consequence is, the parish in which he resides must make up the deficiency; by this means he becomes a pauper. Then in Ireland, what do we see there? The sad repulsive spectacle of a starving peasantry, on the one hand, and a bloated aristocracy on the other. O, look on that picture and then on this; the one is rolling in every luxury of life; the other, from their want of food, is sinking into death; the one has ready access to all that taste, fancy, or caprice can desire; the other scarcely a cup of cold water to cool the parched and burning tongue. But would this dark and gloomy state of things ever have taken place, if the rich and influential had been moving in their proper sphere of action; if they had had a proper regard for the welfare and happiness of their fellow-men: if they had been actuated by the divine principle of philanthropy, and employed a part of the superabundance of their wealth for the benefit of their fellow-men, of which they are the agents of almighty munificence; if they had formed an Emigrant Association on a large, liberal, and efficient scale, which would have given a healthy tone to society, by the reduction of labourers and the consequent increase of the price of labour to such a pitch as would enable a man to support his family with some degree of comfort, without being compelled to apply for parish relief, and not have forced him to depend upon a single root of the earth, when the all-bountiful Creator has clothed the fields with diversified vegetation, and spread the cattle on a thousand hills, all for the unrestricted support and enjoyment of man. If, instead of encouraging church dominancy and party divisions of every kind, of Conservatism, and Radicalism, and Toryism, and Orangeism, and Whiteboyism, and Catholicism, and Protestantism, and all other isms which are the curse, the very cholera-morbus of the human race; and then by fanning into a flame the embers of party feeling, by processions, carrying with them all the symbolic paraphernalia of party spleen; if, instead of encouraging these party and distinctive feelings, accompanied with all the vitiating and exciting exhibitions and tom-fooleries of the day; instead of encouraging all these things, if they had clothed themselves in the true nobility of nature and of man, by a generous line of conduct, they would have possessed that in reality which they now possess in name

only, and would have stamped their character with dignity and respect. If the rich of all parties in Ireland had, years ago, set their shoulders to the wheel of rational reform, matters would have never come to the sad and lamentable state in which they now stand. If they had joined in one noble and generous band for the benefit of the poor, and raised a permanent fund, not for maintaining them in idleness, but for the establishing of Penitentiaries, of public schools, of manual labour, and agriculture, they would have taught them to be industrious, and by establishing an Emigrant Association upon a large and liberal footing, would have had the effect of removing, with advantage to himself, the surplus labourer to a more propitious soil, and giving abundance of work to those who were left behind. Education and Emigration, my Lord, on the most liberal and rational ground, are the solid and beautiful pillars on which are to be built the complete renovation and happiness of the Irish nation. But, as I have before observed, suitable means must be adopted to bring about beneficial ends. The emigrant, to be useful to himself and to the country to which he moves, must have physical and mental capacity for the undertaking; he must be drilled in the school of industry when young, and his mind must be impressed with the absolute necessity of an active and steady perseverance in his lawful calling, whatever it may be, in order that he may become a prosperous, an independent, and a happy man. But, I am very sorry to say, that the very antipodes of this description of Emigrants are now thrown by tens of thousands upon our shores, spreading disease, and sorrow, and death among the unoffending inhabitants of this Province, who are daily treading the path of virtue and the path of duty, by faithfully fulfilling their respective occupations, several of whom have sacrificed their lives in the heavenly cause of assisting suffering humanity. Thus we see what a weight of guilt must rest upon the heads of those who, having the power, were deficient in the will to bring about such measures as would have prevented this immense amount of human misery, the severe effects of which are extensively felt on both sides of the Atlantic.

The emigrants now sent to this country are half dead before they embark; and the surrounding influences when on board the vessel, such as the unreasonable and unlawful number forced into the hold of the ship, which has the effect of destroying those gases which are so necessary for healthy respiration, and the absence of which, to a

certain extent, is fatal to animal life ; this, with a scanty allowance of food, and that, too, of the very coarsest description, brings rapidly about, what to these poor, lost, dejected and forlorn creatures, must be a happy consummation. But the recent shipment of these poor unfortunate beings by Lord Darnley, out-Herods Herod ; four or five hundred of whom were put on board the ship *Panope*, with a promise that they should receive one pound each from the Chief Emigrant Agent at Quebec, but on their arrival, on opening the letter which was supposed to contain the order, what did the poor, half-famished, palid cheeked, sunken eyed mortals discover ? O, tell it not in Gath ! to their infinite regret and disappointment, they found that it was all a hoax ! But this is not all ; they were allowed provisions for twenty-three days only, and the ship did not complete her voyage in less than fifty ! O, cruelty ; cruelty ! cruelty !! Well might Scotland's favourite poet, could he now arise from that bourne from whence no traveller did e'er return, exclaim with double emphasis in the following beautiful lines :—

“ And man, whose heaven erected face the smiles of love adorn ;  
Man's inhumanity to man, makes countless thousands mourn.”

I know it is said that this was Lord Darnley's Agent's doing, but this is no extenuation of the act as respects Lord Darnley, for he showed great indifference about the lives of his poor countrymen when he trusted them in the hands of a fawning and time-serving Agent. What, my Lord, can the Government be about in neglecting to adopt Legislative restrictions respecting Emigration ? The voice of this Province, to a man, ought to cross the Atlantic with telegraphic despatch, praying that the British Government would immediately pass rigid and stringent laws, which would have a salutary bearing on the matter in question ; praying that they will not allow any emigrants to be shipped to this country, under a very heavy penalty, but such as are strong and healthy, and then only a certain number in each ship, according to the tonnage of the vessel. It is a disgrace to any Government to allow a parcel of avaricious and sordid minded men to tamper with and endanger the lives of their fellow-beings, both in their own country and in this, and to inundate our land with a contagious disease, and with the dying and the dead. Thousands of these poor unfortunate men have had their passage paid across the Atlantic to lay their bodies in a foreign land ; and about four thousand of whom have already found a watery grave. In this city alone, from twenty to forty per day are removed from the



miseries which they are doomed to suffer in this life, to their everlasting home.

But to return to England, my native country, "with all thy faults, I love thee still," and the more those faults are removed, the more intense will be the affection of thy sons. Every body knows that the state of society in England is very different now to what it was under the despotic sway of James the Second, and Henry the Eighth, when a man could not utter an opinion that was at all opposed to the powers that be, without subjecting himself to imprisonment for life, and however gross, arbitrary, and wicked the laws and practices of the Government of the times might be, and however glaringly opposed to right rule, right reason, and right action, the subject was placed in the humiliating condition of giving a species of sanction to these unholy proceedings by a tacit assent, or risk his liberty, his property, and his life. But, thank God, those mountains of despotism and intolerance are fast crumbling to the earth, and the cold and frigid icebergs of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, cannot long withstand the brilliant rays of an enlightened liberality. The school-master, the lecturer, and the missionary have been abroad, those great propellers of the human mind, and have taught it that its march is onward, and that its goal is liberty, science, religion, and virtue. Society in England has certainly very much advanced since the above periods, in the arts, and sciences; in wisdom, and virtue, and in all the useful and ornamental embellishments of life. England has passed wise and wholesome laws, and abrogated others which bore the stamp of folly, oppression, and injustice, the offspring of ignorance, barbarism, and vice. The passing of the Habeas-corpus Act, the Reform Bill, the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and the Dissenters Equality Bill, are cheering traits in England's history. She has also made wise and humane alterations and improvements in that sanguinary code of laws, called the Penal Code, which carried on the face of it the impress of cruelty and a recklessness of human life. Yes, my Lord, England and the world are gradually shaking off the barbarisms of the dark ages, and learning and civilization is upon the advance, and England is in the foreground in this march of improvement, by the encouragement of Mechanics' Institutes, and literary and scientific associations, and religious institutions. She has made rapid strides in wisdom and virtue, but her crowning act of Christian philanthropy, was the abolition of slavery; that immense amount of wealth which she sacrificed for the



poor, oppressed, and friendless slave, that he might obtain his freedom and escape from the iron-handed tyranny of his brutish oppressors, enabling him to tear off the shackles from his limbs, and bound the verdant lawn in all the buoyancy of a free and a happy man, was a noble deed of disinterested benevolence, which will cover a multitude of sins, and, with the name of Wilberforce, will go down to distant posterity as one of the brightest spots in the whole calender of human affairs. But even this act, great and glorious as it was, sinks into comparative insignificance when compared to what remains to be done ; for what is the emancipation of the body compared to that of the mind ? What is the buoyancy and elasticity of the limbs, when compared to the strength and culture of the mind ? or what comparison will the physical bear with the mental powers of man : with the thinking, judging, defining principle within ? I need not pause for a reply, because I know that there is a ready answer in the breast of every human being. Then my inference is, that England deserves much praise for the good things she has done, and much censure for those that she has left undone. Do you ask me what they are ? Why, my Lord, there are deep-bedded rocks of ignorance, and vice ; of superstition, of bigotry, of sectarianism, of avarice, of ambition, of pride, of illiberality, of envy, of hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness. But you will also ask how can these be removed ? I answer, by a system of liberal education throughout Great Britain, by establishing public schools in every city, town, and village in the kingdom ; not richly endowed colleges with a clerical chair for the purpose of giving some favourite clergyman a handsome living and an income out of all proportion to the services performed, whose business, principally, is, in attempting to define knotty points of divinity and theological subtilties, which, in nine cases out of ten, are assented to without being understood. We want not schools for teaching the doctrines of a creed, but the duties of a life. We want not schools to make men bigots, but to make them men in the most exalted sense of the word, to teach them that man is a high and noble being, stamped with the impress of his divine Creator, made for the greatest and wisest purposes, and blest with the powers of intellect sufficient to raise him from the trammels of sin to the practice of virtue, from the attractions of earth to the glories of heaven ; give the reading of the Bible in schools if you will, without comment, and there he will find that God is love, that he is, without partiality, no respecter of persons :

that he will reward the virtuous and punish the wicked ; there he will find his whole duty to God and man ; he will be taught reverence and love to his maker, and love to his fellow-creatures, to do as he would wish to be done by, and return good for evil ; he will find that these great leading doctrines of Christianity, are as clear as the sun at noon-day, so clear that " he who runs may read." I give in to the sentiments of a noble author, who, speaking of the education of youth when instructed by philosophers, says it " tended to make them as useful to the society they lived in as possible ; there they were trained up to exercise and labour, to accustom themselves to an active life. No vice was more infamous than idleness, nor any man more contemptible than he who was too lazy to do all the good he could. The lectures of their philosophers served to quicken them to this, they recommended above all things the duty to their country, the preservation of the laws and public liberty, subservient to which they preached up moral virtues, such as fortitude, temperance, justice, a contempt of death, etc. They taught their youth how and when to speak pertinently, how to act like men, to subdue their passions, to be public spirited, to despise death, torments, and reproach, riches, and the smiles of princes as well as their frowns, if they stood between them and their duty. This manner of education produced men of another stamp than appears now upon the theatre of the world, such as we are scarcely worthy to mention, and must never think to imitate till the same kind of institutions grow again into reputation." I have made the above quotation because it is appropriate to the subject. We want schools to teach men the common duties of life ; temperance, activity, industry, self-reliance, integrity, benevolence, and public zeal, these qualities should be ranked among the cardinal virtues. The youthful mind should be stamped with the impress of the most extensive liberality ; all sectarianism, and nationality, and party spirit should be condemned as unchristian, ungenerous, and unmanly, and as directly at variance with those heavenly principles which the gospel of our Saviour teaches. He should be taught to look through the flimsy tinsel of distinctive opinion, as the offspring of fortuitous circumstances and events by which mankind are involuntarily surrounded, and look at man simply as he is, a child of God and a member of the great human family ; having all the same hopes of happiness in a future life, shrouded in the same degree of human fallibility, and having an equal and undoubted right

to think, judge, and speak for themselves, according to the dictates of their consciences and the conviction of their minds, and that whatever may be a man's difference of opinion from our own, we are bound to treat him as a man and a brother, always bearing in mind that the difference of existing opinions have been brought about by a chain of causes and effects entirely beyond our control. If the minds of youth could be deeply imbued with these liberal and rational views of men and things, how happy would be the condition of society in comparison with its present state ; all wars and heart-burnings, all public quarrels and private bickerings would cease, and men would be ashamed to indulge in those petty ebullitions of national and sectarian feelings which are so prevalent in the present day, and which strike at the very root of the peace, prosperity, and happiness of man. With these views and doctrines laid down as the fundamental basis upon which the future education of youth is to be founded ; with these salutary and renovating influences abroad in the land, what heart-cheering and life-inspiring prospects might we soon expect to see of peace, and joy, and good will among men ; then the averted eye of jealousy, of distrust, of envy, and malice, would sparkle with the glow of affectionate regard, and the turned-up lip of sovereign and supreme contempt, would utter the manly greetings of social joy, and there would exist a reciprocity of kindly feeling and action among men, and we might then with truth exclaim, "Verily the desert does indeed now blossom like the rose."

I have said that the state has the command of the national purse, and that the superabundance of wealth should go to better the condition of the poor, at least a part of it ;—it should go to dispel the ignorance, the poverty, and the vice of the poorer classes ; it should go for the preservation of the body, and the refinement of the mind ; it should go to raise the poor in the scale of human being, and to bring them from the lowest depths of degraded humanity to the high and exalted standard of rational men ; it should go to teach him that his rank in the order of the Creator, was intended by almighty munificence to be far above the brutes that perish, and that by the exercise of that reason which gives him the distinctive superiority over the animal creation, by the improvement of his intellectual powers, and by the expansion of his mind and by walking steadfastly in the path of wisdom, piety, and virtue, he will gradually ascend to the topmost heights of human excellence, and then it may

be truly said that God has made man little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honour. But it may be asked how is all this to be done? It is very beautiful in theory, but very difficult to practise; and do you not know that the rich and influential of the land are the law makers of the land,—“ay, there’s the rub.” The great landed proprietors and the heads of the churches, both of England and Ireland, are in the House of Lords and the House of Commons; but I should be very sorry to affirm that there are not a great many members of both Houses who possess both wisdom and virtue, men of splendid talents and of holy lives.

“But, O, mankind are unco weak,  
And little to be trusted;  
If self the wavering balance shake,  
Its rarely right adjusted.”

Indeed such is the general weakness of human nature, and the almost universal selfishness of man, that it would be difficult for any of us to sanction and pass a law that would directly affect our own interest; but such things should be done, and must be done, ere we can expect to see removed from the land that mass of ignorance and vice, of poverty and misery which so alarmingly prevail. But we sometimes suppose that certain measures operate against our interest, when they turn out eventually to have quite an opposite tendency: and so it is with the case at issue. For instance, if a tax on property were to be levied, sufficient for all the purposes of Education and Emigration, the rich would feel the effects comparatively but for a moment, for the improved state of society, in a very few years, would refund the amount so contributed, with compound interest; for by the industrious, temperate, and virtuous habits of the people, the enormous expense of prison discipline would be nearly done away with, both foreign and domestic; the hospitals would in a great measure have empty wards, and the poor-houses a lack of tenants; the Lunatic and Orphan Asylums, too, would be much less required; the Court-house doors might be nearly closed, and the prison doors would fly open, and the lawyers might put their briefs in their pockets, and with doleful countenances exclaim, “Othello’s occupation’s gone;” for the good sense of the people, their mild, peaceable, and tractable dispositions, the moral tone and bearing of the present state of society, which has been brought about by an improved system of education, and its benign and renovating influence has had such a powerful effect upon the minds



and the hearts of the people, that they no longer require the services of those who have for ages lived sumptuously on the foolish, destructive, and wicked litigations of their clients. Thus you see, my Lord, the rich will be fully repaid their first outlay by the reduction of the poor rates, and the reduction of those large sums which must now be raised by taxation for the confinement and safe keeping of criminals at home, and the expense of sending and keeping them abroad ; they will also be repaid by the increased security of property and life. But what say the Scriptures on the duty of the rich to the poor ? In the nineteenth chapter of Mathew, we find the direct and positive command of our Saviour relative to the duties of the rich to the poor in the following verses : “ And behold one came unto him and said, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life ? And Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments. He saith unto him, Which ? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness ; honour thy father and thy mother ; and, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up : what lack I yet ? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful : for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.” But this last verse, I conceive, like every other passage of Scripture that seems to want a little explanation, should be put to the touch-stone of reason, that rudder of the mind, which was given to man by God, to enable him to steer safely through every difficult channel of life.

Is it to be supposed then, from the above passage, that as it is absolutely impossible that a camel could go through the eye of a needle, according to the common acceptance of the term, so it is also impossible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God ? by no means, for this would be charging the Almighty with cruelty and injustice, whose every action is founded in purity and love. This passage can be explained clearly from the circumstance, that there are in the countries where the Scriptures had their birth,

narrow passages between the rocks where the camels have to pass, called the needles, and they are so difficult to get through, that the drivers are obliged to take the burthens from the animals' backs in order that they may be able to pass ; therefore it is clear that the impression that Jesus intended to make upon the minds of his disciples was, that a great responsibility rested upon those who had the command of wealth, that they had a weighty duty to perform to the poor, and that it would be more difficult for the rich to obtain eternal happiness than the poor, on account of the great temptation which riches hold out to indulge the sinful passions in all their forms, to wean us from spiritual to temporal things, to be unmindful of our duty to God, and regardless of the welfare of our fellow-men ; in short, to lay up treasures on earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and thieves break through and steal, rather than lay up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal.

Thus we see from what has been stated, that the promises and threats of Scripture have a direct bearing upon our conduct, relative to the charitable disposition of wealth, indeed the general tenor of the Gospel goes to inculcate the virtue of benevolence. Jesus Christ was a complete model of disinterested benevolence, going about doing good both to the bodies and minds of men, healing the sick, the lame, and the blind, and teaching the heavenly doctrines of humility, forbearance, and love. What an inducement is there here for the rich to appropriate a portion of their wealth for the benefit of their poorer brethren, the promise is nothing short of eternal happiness in a future life ; but there is also an instantaneous reward for acts of benevolence in this life, for the pleasing reflection of having benefited our fellow-men in mind, body, or estate, will accompany us through every changing and trying scene of this fickle and transient state of existence ; and in the hour of death will be as a refreshing stream from the fountain of life. But, methinks I hear some one exclaiming, "Stop, stop, my dear sir, your notions of the improved state of society are altogether utopian and premature ; you have been soaring in the regions of unprofitable speculation, and indulging in the wild chimeras of a disordered imagination ; you are at least two or three centuries beyond the feelings and the spirit of the age ; your theory may be good, but to reduce it to practice is morally impossible."—To which I must reply, that I humbly conceive that the foregoing remarks are the offspring of calm and sober

reason, the legitimate conclusion of a cool and dispassionate consideration of the subject in question, and the natural and irresistible inferences which must be drawn by every man whose mind is not shackled by the fetters of early prejudice, by the tyrant custom, or by political, national, or sectarian bias. The spirit and feelings of the times are in favour of improvement; witness the steam engine, the rail-road, and the telegraph; witness Total Abstinence Societies, for young and old, those great promoters of public morals, peace, and prosperity, whose divine influence is like the dews from heaven, invigorating and fertilizing the land with health and happiness; witness, too, the free intercourse between one country and another, and the liberal footing of transacting business on the principles of free trade; witness, also, the decline of that sanguinary spirit which formerly plunged nations in almost exterminating wars for mere trifling causes, and the desire to settle national disputes by arbitration, all these things shew that society wants not the lapse of centuries for its improvement, it requires only a few philanthropists in every town and city, to touch the latent spark of benevolence that dwells in every human breast, and to rouse their fellow men from the drowsy torpor of guilty indifference, to a lively sense of duty, the duty of using every exertion to obtain for our poorer brethren all those rights and privileges which by the laws of nature and of God they are so justly entitled to. Let them get up petitions through the length and breadth of the land for the immediate establishment of schools on a large and liberal footing, such as have a practical bearing on the every-day-business of life, and the reciprocal duties to be performed between man and man; let these be opened in every town and village, particularly in Ireland; let them petition, also, for a regular organized system of emigration, on an efficient scale. These two movements, if put into operation, will work wonders in a very short time, providing they are carried out to the extent required, and commensurate with the vast importance of the objects to be obtained.

It would be well, too, for the Government of the country, to a certain extent, to adopt a system of compulsory education. This measure may appear to be somewhat arbitrary, but it is strictly just, for as the State is the guardian of the public welfare, and compels its subjects to pay such taxes as are absolutely necessary for the suppression of vice and the punishment of the wicked, it has an undoubted right to check in their bud, by counteracting influences, those



elements which, if allowed to ripen to maturity, will destroy the peace, order, and happiness of society. I know it will be said that the Roman Catholic population of Ireland would never join in public schools, and why? Because they are afraid that an officious meddling will be made with their religious principles; because they fear that Government would appoint Episcopalian or at least Protestant schoolmasters. I do not think the Catholic clergy are opposed to the improvement of the people in all the useful branches of education, but they are extremely sensitive on the score of religious principle. Then, again, the rabid spirit of party which has been kept up for ages between Catholics and Protestants, and which have called into active operation all the bad passions of our nature, and which are a disgrace to the name of man, these have carried through the land their baneful effects, spreading far and wide envy, and hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, filling the heart with sadness and the land with blood. Need we, then, wonder that a shyness between the parties still exist; at such an awful crisis as this, what can be done? Are all hopes of the future education of the labouring classes to be cut off for the purpose of gratifying the morbid appetite for party spleen? Is the present and eternal welfare of the rising generation to be sacrificed to the wicked propensities of those who continue to indulge reciprocally those feelings which are directly opposed to reason, religion, and virtue, and which entail upon society almost all the ills which flesh is heir to? Do you ask how it is possible to make a change in this unhappy state of things? I answer, the Government can do it. Yes, my Lord, they have it in their power, by a wise and judicious course of measures to work a radical cure for Ireland. Of course some sacrifices must be made; the Tithe System, in Ireland at least, must be abolished. I know it will be said that it is a law of the land which has been long standing, and that it makes no difference either to the landlord or tenant as to the amount of money collected in the shape of tithes, as they had both entered into their respective purchases and engagements with the known fact that the property and the payments were inseparably connected. It will also be said that, at the time of its adoption, it was a wise measure, as there was a laxity of religion and morals among the people; but what may be good in the reign of Ethelwald, may be bad in the reign of Victoria; and a law passed in a semi-barbarous state of society, may be good for the people of that age, but may bear a very opposite character when society has arrived at

a higher pitch of civilization. So it is with the law of tithes ; indeed it is almost too barefaced a thing to exist in the present day, particularly in Ireland, where there is so large a proportion of the Catholic population. It is the cause, in that country, of deep-rooted dissatisfaction, and well it may, for can any one imagine a more direct insult to the human understanding than that of compelling a man to maintain a religion whose doctrines are diametrically opposed to the convictions established in his mind ; it is setting up, too, a sort of infallibility in religion which ought not to be tolerated ; it is forcibly wresting from man the gift of God ; it is inflicting a deep wound on society which the sensitive feelings of the age will not much longer endure.

The Tithe System must be abolished in Ireland before the least glimpse of reconciliation can be expected to exist among the great body of the people, and with it, at no very distant date, must also go by the board, the union of church and State in all countries, for it is the fundamental law of progressive improvement, that all institutions which have a direct bearing upon the great leading power of progressive improvement, I mean the human mind, should bear a proportionate advance in enlightenment and civilization ; and it is in the constituted nature of things, the inherent, inalienable, and irrevocable right of every human being to judge and decide for himself in matters of religion ; a right stamped by the sacred seal of Divine Omnipotence. Before his great Master he must stand or fall, any attempt, therefore, to keep up a favoured and privileged order in the pay and patronage of the State, is an arbitrary act of injustice, and a direct insult to the understanding of all who do not come within the circle of that order.

I say then, my Lord, that the Government have it in their power, in a great measure, to break down the middle wall of partition that divides man from man, by discountenancing all party feeling and all measures that lead to internal dissensions, and treating all upon the broad principle of impartial justice. In establishing public schools in Ireland, much care, and judgment, and impartiality will be necessary in the choice of masters, or it cannot be expected that they will be attended with beneficial results. When the least national, political, or sectarian bias is shown, then there will be an end to their general usefulness at once. I would not appoint the man with the cookoo song of " God save the king " upon his tongue, and selfishness and hypocrisy in his heart ; one who would make loud professions of loyalty an apology

for the absence of every requisite in character and talent ; but I would rather appoint the man, if he possessed the other requisites, who knew no loyalty at all save the loyalty to right, who knew no loyalty to any Government whether Conservative, Tory, Radical, or Whig, further than their measures went to better the condition of society, and to the general welfare of mankind ; one who would not by a word or look give the least preference to any of his pupils on account of sect or party. I would also appoint none but teetotalers, for they ought to be made the living land-marks to the rising generation, to guard them against the rock of intemperance, that destructive rock upon which so many thousands have already split with the wreck of body and the crush of soul, and as the boy of to-day will be comparatively the man of to-morrow, treading the stage of life in all the diversity of human character ; of what mighty importance must it be, both to Government and people, to fix firmly in the youthful mind the embryo of future usefulness, of reverence to God, of love to man, not to a party or a clan only ; not to this man because he carries a scrap of orange ribbon at his button-hole, and another because he carries the same vaunting exhibition of blue ; not to this man because his clergyman chooses to preach in a black gown, and to the other because he prefers a white ; not to this man because he wants to go to heaven this road, and another that.—O no, no, no : but to the universal brotherhood of man. And in all the public schools, the foundation upon which all the teachings should rest, is the science of universal benevolence ; take this for the root, and all the branches that spring therefrom, whether in the common schools or those which give a more extended course of education, will be adorned with nature's choicest fruits, the fruits of peace, and joy, and good will towards men. O that Government and people would resolutely set their shoulders to the wheel to blot out from the vocabulary of languages all party names, and consign forever to the tomb of the capulets, all political, national, and sectarian distinction.

I have visited the benevolent institutions of New York and Philadelphia, and met with the most bland and courteous reception from their respective superintendents, and have been forcibly struck with the beauty, order, and regularity of their internal arrangements, particularly of those of the Juvenile Delinquents' Asylum. There were about three or four hundred girls and boys who had been met on the very threshold of a vicious course of life, and snatched from the



yawning gulph of destruction ; here no stone is left unturned for their establishment in habits of industry, piety, and virtue, each boy being taught a trade, and the girls all the occupations of domestic life. The time for labour, recreation, and instruction are so agreeably divided, that the inmates naturally become attached to the Institution, and by a pleasing diversity of employment, are daily acquiring more strength of body and mind, and laying the foundation for useful and respectable members of society. I have read several letters, in the annual reports, from those who have left the Institution, expressing the most heartfelt gratitude to the society for having saved them from certain ruin, and placed them in their present happy position ; how much superior is this mode of treating the young offender to that too frequently practiced, where he is thrown into prison for some trifling crime, and exposed to all the pernicious influences of hardened villany ; he thus becomes contaminated with the seeds of every species of vice, and is then let loose on society, rife with every principle of evil. The adult Institutions, too, are of the same reforming and reclaiming character. Would that poor suffering Ireland was blest with such Institutions, for it is to the formation of the character in early life that the future prosperity and welfare of society principally depends, and to a judicious regard to prison discipline, that the adult criminal is to be reclaimed. These stately edifices of benevolence which everywhere meet the eye of the passing traveller, impress him with feelings of admiration and respect, where nothing is left untried to effect the amelioration of suffering and degraded humanity. No public and private expense, no untiring and indefatigable energy is spared to give to the sick, the lame, and the blind : the insane, the widow, and the orphan, the young culprit, and the old, the aid that their respective conditions require, and all the comfort that the nature of circumstances can afford. I could not but conclude that whatever may be defective in the American character, their almost enthusiastic ardour in the cause of their suffering fellow-man, which every where prevails, is certainly a most redeeming feature. But, I am sorry to say, that we Europeans in passing through their country, are too much prone to quarrel with some little difference of customs, habits, and manners which are not exactly similar to our own, and which do not meet our rather more refined ideas of the strict proprieties of social life, thus attaching importance to the mere bubble that floats upon the surface, instead of fathoming the intrinsic value

within. It would be a matter of deep regret, that two countries so alike as England and America are, in all that enriches and embellishes human life, should they, by the recklessness of the few in opposition to the more considerate and respectable classes of both countries, be plunged into a destructive and exterminating war; a war which would deluge the land with the fathers' blood, the widows' and the orphans' tear, and all this, too, may be caused by some trifling and unimportant circumstance, which, by arbitration, might be fairly, honourably, and amicably adjusted.

In connection with my remarks on Temperance, there is a pleasing incident which took place a few days ago, which I cannot permit to pass unnoticed, and which your Lordship will not consider out of place; it will be read with lively interest by many, and with none more so than your Lordship, who will, I am persuaded, rejoice to hear of any movement in this Province which has a tendency to promote the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of this highly important portion of Her Majesty's dominions. We had a juvenile pic-nic for the young buds of teetotalism, and His Excellency the Earl of Elgin addressed the children; there were about one thousand present; his Lordship seemed to take much interest in the scene, and with a degree of warmth and energy, endeavoured to impress upon the young minds the necessity of persevering in the course they had adopted, and in every other virtuous principle, in order that they may grow up good men and good women. His Excellency has the honour of being the first Governor in Canada who has given public countenance and personal approbation to this great reforming and soul-saving influence. The late Lord Sydenham, to whom I addressed two or three letters, and had a private interview with on the subject, expressed himself very much in favour of temperance societies, and sent a small donation, but took no active part to bring about the happy consummation so much to be wished, and for which the teetotal societies continually labour, viz., the restoration of the inebriate from the lowest depths of depravity and vice, to respectability, virtue, and happiness. His Excellency, Lord Elgin's, public approbation of the teetotal cause, will have a beneficial effect, for the actions of great men carry with them great influences, and one single act of a person in the position which His Lordship holds in society, may entail on the people, even down to distant posterity, irreparable evil or incalculable good; the good resulting from this act of His Lordship's, I have no doubt, will be felt when the

present generation will be no more. There is something peculiarly gratifying to the feelings in the spectacle of a Governor of a country bending from his exalted station, and with a benevolent regard and a paternal solicitude, condescending to give to little children, those tender plants of humanity, the advice of a father and a friend. Such a position, my Lord, appears to me to be one of the highest stamp. To lead such an army of young teetotalers is a glorious occupation, and how do the armies of a Wellington, a Blucher, and a Bonaparte, with their hundred thousand men each, sink into comparative nothingness when compared with these? For the aim of the one is to kill the body, the other to save the soul; the one exerts its influence on time, the other extends it through all eternity; the one is physical, the other mental; the one is an appeal to animal energy, the other to reason and judgment; the one is destructive, the other restorative; the one is of the earth, earthy, the other is an emanation from Heaven. We humbly hope that His Excellency will continue to favour the temperance cause, both by precept and practice, and take a firm and manly stand against the despotism of foolish and pernicious customs by which the table drinking usages are kept up; let us humbly hope that His Excellency will become the patron of the Canada Temperance Societies, a step which would give great impetus to the cause throughout the Province, both by the formation of new societies and by the accession of members to those already formed. His Excellency has now an opportunity of doing much good by spreading extensively abroad in the land this great moral influence, and I am sure if his Lordship could but visit the abodes of destitution and vice caused by intemperance, and witness the heart-rending scenes of human degradation and misery which reigns in the home, or rather the hell, of the inebriate, where the deserted wife in her dank and dismal cell, without fuel and without food, with palid cheek and sunken eye, sits with listening anxiety till past the midnight bell, for him who had pledged himself at the sacred altar to be her guardian and protector through life, and who, when he does arrive, adds insult to injury, and inflicts fresh wounds upon a heart already too deeply pierced. O, what must be the pitiable condition of the mother of a family of famishing little ones, in such a home, where not an article that can be at all conducive to domestic comfort is left, where all has vanished beneath the monster alcohol's blighting touch. Could His Lordship witness such scenes, which are by no means uncommon, I



am fully persuaded that the kindly feelings of his nature would give way, and irresistably impel him to throw his weighty influence into the cause of teetotal societies. His Lordship's influence would have the effect of establishing temperance societies on a more solid footing, and a greater degree of permanency and efficiency would be imparted to all, and His Excellency would acquire a fame far superior to that which arises from a one-sided political bias; he would receive the spontaneous approbation of every wise and good man, and would enjoy the greatest of all luxuries, the luxury of doing good, and the remembrance of having done such an act would cheer His Excellency on through every untoward event of life, and on the pillow of death he would be supported in nature's trying hour with the exhilarating reflection of having done essential service to mankind in his day and generation.

The crowned heads in Europe are beginning to feel the importance and the necessity of moving in this great work. The King and Queen of Sweden are almost enthusiastic in their desire to establish and to promote the objects of Temperance Societies. The King promised the American Agent that he would do all in his power to bring about that reformation of which his country stood so much in need, stating that the Government was supported principally from the revenue derived from distillation; yet he felt that it was his interest and his duty, and the duty of every member of the State, to do all in his power to check that torrent of alcoholic drinks which was making such rapid inroads upon the health, morals, and happiness of the people, and they have done much, both the King and Queen, by their powerful example and patronage, to bring about a better order of things. At the last National Anniversary Meeting, the King and Queen were present and gave their countenance and sanction to the proceedings. This great Temperance Convention was held at Stockholm, in the month of December last, and the reports from Temperance Societies, from different parts of the country, by their deputed delegates, were of the most cheering character.

I cannot dismiss this subject without making an extract from the World's Temperance Convention, held in London in the month of August, 1846. In an address to the monarchs and rulers of all nations, it is there stated that a Committee was appointed by the British House of Commons, in the month of June, 1834, to enquire into the extent of evil caused by the use of intoxicating drinks; the Committee was com-



posed of thirty-eight members, and included Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, Admiral Fleming, Colonel Williams, and Mr. Alexander Baring, the most eminent of British merchants, and representatives of the agricultural, manufacturing, and maritime counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; never perhaps in the annals of Parliament was there a Committee composed of more eminent or more impartial members. There is a long list of resolutions given, showing the dreadful havoc that intoxicating drinks have made in society, but I will give only one, it is this : That they produce the most painful consequences to individuals ; disease in variety of forms ; stunted growth in the young ; premature decay and death in the middle aged ; apoplexy, paralysis, idiocy, madness, suicide, and violent death, by all which more lives are wasted and destroyed in one year, than in all the great battles of the last century. The address then proceeds in the following language :—We address ourselves in the spirit of Christian regard and Christian frankness, when we say rulers of nations and protectors of the people committed to your care, if you desire to see the resources of your industry fully developed, your golden harvest of grain husbanded for the food of man, your population preserved in vigorous health and industry, youth well instructed and morally trained, the men sober, the women chaste, the public authorities just and temperate, your subjects happy and obedient, and the great duties of religion and morality cheerfully and willingly performed, under the influences of love for their excellencies, and a hearty participation in their enjoyments, rather than from a fear and terror of the punishment that awaits their neglect. If these be the objects of your high and noble ambition, O rulers and potentates of the earth, we entreat you in the name of the World's Convention, now assembled together in friendly union, from the various countries that have sent us here to represent their feelings, hopes, and desires, that you will be with us in doing whatever in your wisdom may seem best calculated to arrest the progress of intemperance in your respective dominions ; to encourage all Societies, Institutions, and measures for abolishing the drinking usages and customs of your people ; you will thus draw down upon your crowned and anointed heads, the blessings of all your people, and the grateful homage of the heart from millions yet unborn ; your dying moments, whenever they may come, as in the course of time must happen to us all, will be soothed with the remembrance that you have endeavoured to discharge the high trust and responsi-

bility committed to your care, by encouraging within your dominions a new moral reformation for the improvement of mankind, the great end and aim of which is to promote "glory to God on earth, peace and good will to men."

I have dwelt at some length on the subject of Total Abstinence from alcoholic drinks, because I conceive it is the duty of the Government of every country to watch over the interest of its subjects, and to countenance and encourage all the good influences that are abroad in society, and to check and disparage those that are evil; and every common observer must admit that there is not a more satanic influence in existence in the present day, than the one in question; not a more demoralizing, desolating, paralyzing, and soul-destroying power amongst men; its extensive ravages amongst the poor and labouring classes, are dreadful to contemplate: it is the destroyer of domestic peace and public tranquility, of individual happiness and social enjoyment; it extinguishes every spark of love, honour, justice, and common honesty; it makes the child an orphan, the mother a widow, and the father a brute. But its hellish influence does not stop at the cottage of the poor, but enters the mansion of the rich and the powerful, it crosses the threshold of the man of wealth, of learning, and of high official station; kings, ministers, clergymen, and judges have been the degraded slaves of the tyrant alcohol; all, all—from the pauper to the prince, from the beggar to the bench, have lived, and died, and have gone unprepared to their last homes, the pitiable victims of intemperance; and many a splendid intellect, possessing brilliant talents, deep penetration, sound judgment, and sparkling wit, which might have been a benefit and an ornament to the senate, the pulpit, or the bar, have been laid prostrate by the withering blast of intoxicating drinks. But I hope I have said enough on this subject to impress upon your Lordship's mind the necessity of bringing Legislative enactments to bear upon this matter; there is not on this earth a more useful and honourable occupation, either for the statesman or the private individual, than that of diminishing and subduing this frightful evil.

As the duration of human life is but a span long, even in the ordinary course of nature, but taking into account the numerous ills enwoven with our frame, how great is its uncertainty, and how forcibly do these reflections impress upon our minds the absolute necessity of being actively employed in every good work, and of stamping on the rapidly rolling wheel of time, the impress of some good, a mark of having

done something for our fellow man, which will carry down its benign and cheering influences to distant generations, and which will diffuse joy and happiness to future generations till the end of time, of having laid the foundation of, or aided in promoting, some great principles of action such as the total abolition of slavery : the total abolition of alcoholic drinks as a beverage ; the total abolition of war ; the universal diffusion of knowledge, uncontaminated and untrammelled by sectarian and national domination ; of civil and religious liberty ; of universal benevolence and Christian pilanthropy ; in short, all those great and good principles of action which are calculated to produce peace and happiness in this life, and to pave the way for everlasting felicity in the next.

But to the subject of Emigration :—Emigration, then, to be beneficial to the emigrant, to our native country and to the country of our adoption, three things are essentially requisite : a fitness of the emigrant for his new occupation ; assistance from the Government to enable him to obtain a living for himself and family ; and a prospect of being able, by industry, temperance, and frugality, to better his condition. But the emigrant must be trained in the school of hardy industry before he embarks for a foreign soil, where he will have to fell the ponderous elm, and pluck the mighty oak ; he should possess a degree of physical capacity sufficient to enable him to wrestle with the roughness of nature's wilds amid the roaring of the northern blast ; in short, he should embark with body and mind educated for the task he will have to perform : and be prepared to meet with and conquer those difficulties and hardships which every settler on new land has to encounter ; but, at the same time, let him constantly keep before his mind, that by indefatigable industry and perseverance in his daily calling, at no very distant period, a state of happy independence will be his most certain reward. I have been a resident of this city thirty years, and have seen many a poor family from Ireland, by a steady course of persevering industry, raise themselves from poverty to a state of comparative ease and affluence.

Judge Draper thinks that the emigrant should be paid liberal wages in order that he may be able to lay by a certain amount for the purchase of a lot of land, and thus become himself a proprietor. Earl Grey is of the same opinion ; but no Legislative interference could be applied to the regulation of wages or the price of labour, except on Government works ; but some plan might be devised by the Government by which a constant stimulant to active industry



might be kept up ; this would have the effect of improving the country as well as the condition of the emigrant, it would be the means also of increasing the spirit for emigration in the old country, and this emigration would annually increase until the balance of the population of both would be more equally poised, and, in the same degree, the remuneration for labour in the old countries would become more proportionate to the services performed ; consequently the labouring man would be able to maintain his family without applying to the parish for relief, and the poor and the poor rates would decrease, and in the same ratio as the emigration to the new world gets up, the poverty of the old world will go down.

Then, my Lord, I must conclude that Emigration and Education, on a large and liberal plan, and upon the most generous and impartial footing, are the two main springs which are to give new life and vigor to the body politic, and which are to regulate all the connecting wheels of the national machine, and by their renovating influence to give new tone, order, beauty, and regularity to the social system. I mean that kind of education which is not to be confined to the science of pounds, shillings, and pence, but that which is to train both body and mind for all the useful occupations and all the relative duties of life. I mean that kind of emigration which carries in it some regard for the fitness of the subject for his intended undertaking, and some provision for his future welfare and prosperity, and that which has some regard to the welfare and happiness of the people among whom he is placed, and not that kind of emigration which empties its alms-houses and gaols with indifference, and suffers moral and physical infection to spread through the land, cutting off many of our most valuable citizens, whose benevolent and philanthropic exertions in the cause of suffering humanity have been repaid by the forfeiture of life ; not that kind of emigration which causes our towns and cities to be deserted, our commerce and trade to be paralysed, and the whole country to be filled with fearful forebodings for the future ; this is what we should not have, what we must not, what we will not have repeated ; it is a direct flagrant act of injustice towards our people ; and the Government that permits such proceedings among its subjects, and adopts no counteracting Legislative interference, is highly censurable. If the proper course of education be adopted, it will mould the labouring classes into that form which will insure their future success ; and if a liberal



system of emigration be adopted, it will insure them a happy independency, and confer an inestimable blessing upon the emigrant as well as upon the country of his adoption. Thus the redundant population of the old world might be transferred to the new with reciprocal advantage, for the increase of the population in the one, would be the increase of poverty, but in the other, the increase of wealth; and it would be well for both, if the time should ever arrive, when the annual increase of the one would be kept down by the annual emigration to the other. But the question may be asked: Pray, sir, after all these somewhat rambling and unconnected observations and remarks, what position is it you wish to establish? I answer that there is a large amount of destitution, misery, ignorance, and vice in the world, which cannot be charged to the great Creator, but to the folly of man, to the perversion of human reason, to the closing our eyes to the light of nature, and our ears to the voice of revelation, all of which cry out with ten thousand tongues that all mankind are brethren: "The rich and the poor meet together, the Lord is the maker of them all." The rich have the power to raise the poor from poverty, ignorance, and vice, and the Scriptures most emphatically commands them to do so; then I hold that if there is not a voluntary combination of the rich to effect this highly honourable purpose, it becomes the bounden, the imperative duty of the Government to compel them to do so, for it has a right to adopt such measures as will produce the greatest amount of good to society at large, and the people have a right to demand it at their hands; and I also maintain that it is the plainest dictate of reason, and the most positive command of revelation, that the surplus of the rich should be appropriated to raise the condition of the poor, both mentally and physically—the one can be done by education, the other by emigration, and the mode of raising the money might be by a property tax, to be called the Education and Emigration tax, and to be applied exclusively for the purpose of establishing schools for teaching agriculture, manual labour, and other useful branches of education for the poor, and reforming penitentiaries for the depraved. These, with a well organized plan and system of Emigration, would in a few years do all that the most benevolent and philanthropic could wish. The tax might commence on small annuities, with a very light percentage, and increase on the principle of arithmetical progression, taking in the Government salaries above a certain amount; this would furnish ample means for all

purposes required, this would give efficiency, stability, and permanency to a system that would work a complete revolution in the social compact ; the poor would become more entitled to the regard and respect of the rich, from their improved character, conduct, and general deportment ; and the rich would be looked up to with feelings of gratitude for what their bounty had done for them, and there would be a reciprocity of kindly feeling existing between them, which would be felt better than it can be described.

Then I would say to the middle classes of Great Britain, rise up in your might and tell the Government that this great and glorious reform must be accomplished ; tell them that the sovereign people demand it ; tell them that the voice of an intelligent, an educated, and a virtuous population must be heard ; take all peaceable means to impress upon the mind of the Government the absolute necessity of this great reform ; let your petitions crowd the Legislative halls, till the tables groan beneath their weight. Let your voices ring with loud peals of remonstrance and request, till the echoing walls, with thick vibrations, shake the vaulted roof. O plead with all the power of your souls, for the exaltation of your fellow-men, and your humane and benevolent demands will be favourably answered ; depend upon it, that your persevering petitions will be heard, and the majesty of the people will eventually bear down all opposition. O, how much it is to be desired that all the talented and influential men of rank and station, in our native land, would trample under foot all party differences, and unite in one noble and generous band, linked together in the bonds of universal charity and love, with a full determination to make this the era for laying the foundation stone for a new order of things for remodelling society, by an unbounded system of liberal education, and a well concerted plan and regularly organized and liberal system of Emigration, so that by the one the poor may learn how to live, and by the other where to live. The course of proceeding which I have humbly proposed, would, if carried out, bring about a happy consummation, and could not fail to bless society with the most beneficial results. It would be the means of raising human nature from its low and degraded state, to a higher standard and to a more exalted position in the creation ; it would give a higher tone, more stability, independence, mutual confidence, virtue and happiness to society at large ; it would enable many a poor man to rise from the grave of ignorance, a gem of virtue and talent, which may be some-

times found in the rudest tenement of clay, and which but for the animating, invigorating, and refining touch of education, would have for ever slumbered in the silent tomb. I remember a certain reverend gentleman, a vicar of a church in a borough town in England, where I resided about fifty years ago, publishing a pamphlet against the education of the poor, condemning, in toto, every branch of learning which went beyond a very confined and limited stock of ideas, just enough to form a human machine. His ground of argument was, that the poor were more contented and happy without learning than with it; that those who had, by perseverance and close application to study at every opportunity, acquired a certain amount of education, became restless and discontented in their stations of life, and were always straining after something which was entirely beyond their reach. But it is to be hoped that there are not many such reverend gentlemen in the present day, although I believe he was a very good and a very talented man, and I have listened to him when a boy, Sunday after Sunday, with much interest, and I hope some profit; but at the same time that I admit that he was a learned and a good man, I humbly conceive that he was a mistaken one, for the natural tendency of an enlightened and liberal education is to expand the mind, refine the feelings, and improve the heart; it teaches man to discharge with fidelity in every station in which it has pleased God to place him, all the relative duties of life; it teaches him that the path of duty and of right action, is the path of safety; it teaches him that man when uncontaminated with vice, is a noble being, far removed from the beasts that perish, blest with the high intellectual powers of reason and judgment, with faculties of the mind which enable him to rove through the diversified beauties of the animal, vegetable, mineral, and fossil kingdoms; to trace the starry heaven, and to fathom the boundless productions of the earth; in short, to revel in the grandeur and beauty of nature's work. It teaches him that nothing is so degrading as sin; nothing so deplorable as ignorance: and that by the assiduous cultivation of those faculties of the mind with which God has blest him, he will be enabled to dive into the secret depths of science and of art, and by their aid subdue the elements to his command, and bring the most powerful agents of nature submissive to his will; thus, by the power of steam, man has almost annihilated time and space, and by the electric spark carries human thought, which would formerly require a week for its conveyance, in the

transit of a moment. Seeing then that education confers upon society so much private happiness and so much public good, how must the heart of the philanthropist glow with the desire that every human being should partake of its blessings, and that not a child in any country should be allowed to grow up to maturity without having his mind impressed with all those principles which are calculated to fit him for the varied duties of future life, his duty to God, and his duty to his fellow-man in all the diversified bearings of human action; in short, with such impressions as will make him a good father, a good husband, a good subject, a good neighbour, and a good member of society. This kind of education, carried out to the full extent to which it is in the power of the Government to carry it, it will produce peace on earth and good will among men; will produce peace, happiness, and love here, and eternal happiness hereafter; and the statesman, through whose instrumentality those happy changes may be effected, will go down the page of distant history with the well merited applause of every right thinking man, and with universal honour, love, and gratitude, to ages yet unborn.

That this glorious achievement of Christian philanthropy may be accomplished at no distant period, is the sincere and ardent wish of

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and humble servant,

A CITIZEN.



















